7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

huaro ribs, surmounted with greasewood twigs and some large coarse grass called sacáte colorado. The grass is kept in place by hoops of ocotillo inside and outside, placed at intervals of eight or ten inches. The top of the house is covered with earth.

The entrance is small, usually only two and one-half feet high and two feet wide, and is provided with a grass door which, when not in active use, leans up against the wall outside. To get in or out one is obliged to crawl on hands and knees. The fire is made in the centre, and there is no other escape for the smoke than the door, there being no window; as the people inside generally sit on the ground, the smoke does not trouble them; besides, as the house is warm, a large fire is not needed. In the summer these dwellings are delightfully cool, affording also excellent protection against the violent, though short-lasting, rain-storms of the desert.

Usually a light stockade of ocotillo and other kinds of poles runs around the lodge to prevent the cattle from eating the grass of which it is made. In this house the youth are instructed in the traditions and beliefs of the tribe, and here is discussed everything of more or less importance, meetings being held every evening of the year. The man who is in charge of the lodge and its sacred objects is elected for life. He lives near by and is called Keeper of the Smoke, which means tobacco smoke. The name for tobacco is *viv;* when used for certain sacred purposes it is called coyote tobacco (*pan vivuka*). The young plants are covered with greasewood branches, but the Papagoes nowadays rarely grow the weed and

621 along, and shunted into cabins as they arrive. They do
361 not realize they have a community of interest in keeping
364 their camp clean--there is no organized social sanction in the camps to force uncooperative residents to clean up, so everyone is lax.

This is especially pronounced in labor camps with residents of more than one ethnic background. Cultural differences in living habits of different peoples are not often in the consciousness of camp operators who wrongly assume everyone lives or should live just as they do. But those differences lead to a breakdown of cleanliness in the camps.

364 The Desert People are extremely careful around their
464 own homes on the reserves, and a Papago yard is one of the cleanest spots imaginable, although it may be littered with stray pieces of furniture and tools. So administrators are puzzled over Papago slovenliness in labor
626 camps. The answer seems to be found in their pattern of
● [35] hiring out. The Desert People go to work as family units with residents of a reserve town scattering to several labor camps. As a result, the primary sanction[1] in Papago community life, the fear of being talked about, loses its effect. Being talked about by laborers of other races does not produce action by the Desert People that talk in their home community would. The same is true of other people in labor camps--being talked about by members of other ethnic groups is not strong enough a sanction to move them to act. In fact, such talk is likely to produce an opposite reaction because of inter-group
621 frictions. Labor camps housing laborers of more than
571 one racial origin are studies in social disorganization resulting in general breakdown in normal social controls,
626 resulting in dirty camp grounds, excesses of gambling,
178 women going to work from different cabins each morning, etc.

364 Usually the Desert People in labor camps keep the grounds around their own cabins reasonably clean, but farmers hiring all or nearly all Papago laborers are surprised and puzzled when their camps are almost as dirty as camps housing several ethnic groups. They order the Papago "chief" to clean up the camp, but nothing usually happens until the grower gives in and hires someone to clean the camp up.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 53.